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Remember the Titans. Greek fallen angels

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Already in the 1940s it was noticed that Hesiod, by ways that are still obscure to us, had derived part of his material on Kronos from the Hurrian-Hittite *Song of Kumarbi*. Nilsson still accepted the derivation only hesitatingly,¹ but subsequent investigations have shown that the myth and ritual of Kronos and his Titans are one more example of the fascination that the Orient exerted on Archaic Greek culture.² Yet the Hurrian-Hittite myth also seems to have travelled to Israel, as there are several traces in the Old Testament of a rebellion-in-heaven myth, where God fights and defeats his opponents and casts them into the netherworld;³ moreover, the Jews themselves sometimes connected their fallen angels with the Greek succession myth.⁴ In this chapter I will therefore first look at the oldest, if virtually completely lost epic about the revolt of the Titans (§ 1) and at the individual Titans (§ 2), then make some observations on the connection between the

¹ M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich, 1967³) 515f.

² W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1985) 122-3; for a different and, in my view, less persuasive analysis see M.L. West, "Hesiod's Titans," *JHS* 105 (1985) 174-5, who connects the origin of the Titans with Delphi.

³ Old Testament: *Ezekiel* 28.11-19 at 16-17, cf. also 26.17-21 and 32.2-8; *Isaiah* 15.5-21. New Testament (passages that mention a struggle between God and his angels, who are then thrown into hell): *1 Timothy* 3.6; *2 Peter* 2.4; *Jude* 6; *Revelation* 12.7-9.

⁴ For the fallen angels see, more in general, C. Auffarth and L. Stuckenbruck (eds), *The Myth of the Fallen Angels* (Leiden, 2004); A.Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge, 2005).

Titans and anthropogony (§ 3), and conclude with the appropriation of the Titans by the Jews (§ 4). In an appendix we present a recently published Ethiopic account of Zeus' struggle against Kronos.

1. *The Titanomachy*

More than any other mythological group in antiquity, the Titans were credited with all kinds of negative qualities. For example, in case of a crime people called out Titans' names against the criminals in order to invoke help;⁵ Greek comedy considered them to be all too active pederasts;⁶ everything that threatens life was ascribed to them (Aelian, fr. 89); to dream of them was favourable for those with secret intentions (Artemidorus 2.39); their rule was called 'lawless and undisciplined' (Menander Rhetor 438.31), while they themselves were 'wild gods' (Hsch. α 802). This bad opinion continued in Christian literature, where the Church father Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* 5.30.3) even regarded Titan as the most plausible interpretation of the beast in *Revelation* 13, since 'Teitan' adds up to 666 – an interpretation that probably explains Hesychius' lemma: 'Titan: anti-Christ' (τ 971).⁷ This bad reputation was also reflected in the fact that noxious animals, such as

⁵ Nicander *FGrH* 271-2 F 4; Diogenianus 8.47; Apostolius 16.51; E. Leutsch and F. Schneidewin, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum. Supplementum* (Hildesheim, 1961) I.44.

⁶ Myrtilus, *Titanopanes*; Cratinus Iun. fr. 2; see also Aristophanes fr. 15 Slater; Suet. *Peri blasphemîôn*, 17; Lucian, *Salt.* 21; Hsch. α 802, 6862, κ 2225, τ 971; Suda τ 677; Eust. on *Il.* XIV.279 and *Od.* 1.298.

⁷ For unpersuasive observations on the connection between Titans and the Antichrist see W. Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians* (London and New York, 2003) 343-9.

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spiders and vipers, were said to spring from their blood (Nic. *Ther.* 8ff) and, probably, beans from their seed (*I. Smyrna* 728.16). Titans, then, were clearly notorious for their bad and lawless behaviour all through antiquity.

Who were these creatures and why were they so vilified? The great problem for any student of the Titans is the lack of a sustained narrative in our older sources.⁸ Homer mentions the Titans only a few times,⁹ Hesiod is much more elaborate in his *Theogony* (617-719), but the most detailed exposition of the Titans probably occurred in a poem of the Epic Cycle, the *Titanomachy*, which several sources ascribe to Eumelos of Corinth or Arctinus of Miletus.¹⁰ As its name suggests, the epic chronicled the struggle between Zeus and the Titans for sovereignty, but it clearly was huge, since it began with the genesis of the gods and ended with, perhaps, the creation of humankind. Unfortunately, only few fragments have survived, and we cannot even be sure that there was only one *Titanomachy*. Comparison with another lost early epic, the *Cypria*, suggests that several

⁸ For the Titans see K. Bapp, "Titanes," in W.H. Roscher (ed.), *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 5 (Leipzig, 1916-24) 987-1004; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Kleine Schriften* V.2 (Berlin, 1937) 157-83 (1929¹); E. Wüst, "Titanes," in *RE* II.6 (1937) 1491-1508; E. Schubert, *Die Entwicklung der Titanenvorstellung von Homer bis Aischylos* (Diss. Vienna, 1967: *non vidi*); J. Bažant, "Titanes," in *LIMC* VIII.1 (1997) 31-2; G. Mussies, "Titans," in *DDD*², 872-4.

⁹ *Il.* V.898; VIII.478-9; XIV.274, 279; XV.225.

¹⁰ For a detailed analysis of the poem see M.L. West, "'Eumelos': A Corinthian Epic Cycle?," *JHS* 122 (2002) 109-33.

versions may have existed, probably adapted to local performances (below), although all will have contained the main events of the struggle between Zeus and the Titans.¹¹

The absence of ancient material is only partly remedied by the fact that the mythographer we call Apollodorus (1.1-2.5) provides us with a narrative that has incorporated Hesiod's version of the Titans and the Cyclic *Titanomachy*. His detailed report should not lure us in thinking that he had read many old poems or plays. In recent years it has become increasingly clear that this mythographer, like other surviving ones, worked from both a mixture of canonical poets and existing compilations. Apollodorus used the famous mythographers Pherecydes of Athens and Acusilaus of Argos but also poets and epics of the Archaic Age. Naturally, he knew Homer, (pseudo-)Hesiod, whose *Catalogue* (c. 580/570)¹² he closely followed in the construction of his handbook, Stesichorus and the Epic Cycle, a series of epics that focused on the episodes preceding and following the Trojan War.¹³ These poems, such as the *Ilias Parva*, *Iliupersis*, *Cypria*, *Nostoi* and the *Telegony*, had not yet been lost in his time, and Apollodorus may have used them

¹¹ Cf. J.S. Burgess, "The Non-Homeric *Cypria*," *TAPA* 126 (1996) 77-99; M. Finkelberg, "The *Cypria*, the *Iliad*, and the Problem of Multiformality in Oral and Written Tradition," *Class. Philol.* 95 (2000) 1-11.

¹² For the date see this volume, Chapter II, note 10.

¹³ The close connection with Homer may in some cases be a later development; cf. J.S. Burgess, "The Non-Homeric *Cypria*," *TAPA* 126 (1996) 77-99; but see also K. Dowden, "Homer's Sense of Text," *JHS* 116 (1996) 47-61.

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extensively.¹⁴ Yet his main source, directly or indirectly, must have been the enormously learned, but unfortunately lost work *On Gods* by the Athenian scholar Apollodorus (ca. 180-120 BC), who probably also gave him his later name.¹⁵ The time of his writing seems to have been the later second century AD.¹⁶

Apollodorus' survey is the only detailed version of the Titanic myth that we have. I will therefore closely follow it in my subsequent analysis, and in continuous comparison with the few fragments known of the *Titanomachy*.¹⁷ In this way, we might arrive, at least in outline, at the oldest known version of this intriguing struggle. Apollodorus starts his version with the marriage of Ouranos and Gaia, as did the Epic Cycle (T 1 D = 13 B), but the *Titanomachy* put Aither at the beginning of everything.¹⁸ The detail shows that the

¹⁴ For these poems and their use by Apollodorus see M. Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol, 1989); J.-C. Carrière and B. Massonnie, *La Bibliothèque d'Apollodore* (Paris, 1991) 12-7; A. Cameron, *Callimachus and His Critics* (Princeton and London, 1995) 397f.

¹⁵ See most recently M. van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (Leiden, 1997) 25-8, 108-11, 164-9; M. Huys, "125 Years of Scholarship on Apollodorus the Mythographer: A Bibliographical Survey," *L'Antiquité Classique* 66 (1997) 319-51, overlooked by A. Cameron, *Greek Mythography in the Roman World* (New York, 2004) 93-106; M. Huys and D. Colomo, "Bibliographical Survey on Apollodorus the Mythographer. A Supplement," *L'Antiquité Classique* 73 (2004) 219-37.

¹⁶ Carrière and Massonnie, *La Bibliothèque d'Apollodore*, 9-12.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the few fragments see W. Kranz, *Studien zur antiken Literatur und ihrem Nachwirken* (Heidelberg, 1967) 89-96; M. Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol, 1989) 13-8.

¹⁸ *Titanomachy*, fr. 1^{AB} D = 2 B; note that F 1^A D = A.R. Dyck, *Epimerismi Homeric*, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1993-95) α 313.

Epic Cycle started with the coming into being of the gods, but in this respect was not identical with Hesiod's *Theogony*, which begins with the wedding of Ouranos and Gaia. This independence is also confirmed by Hesiod's mention of the Hundred-Handers and Cyclopes as children of Ouranos and Gaia. Our poem mentions only Aigaion, 'the son of Gaia and Pontos' (fr. 3 D/B) who, unlike in Homer (*Il.* I.403) and Hesiod (*Th.* 617ff), was an ally of the Titans,¹⁹ whereas Hesiod's primeval couple generates the three Hundred-Handers (Briareos, Gyges,²⁰ and Kottos). Aigaion was the eponymous ruler of Carystus-Aigaie and worshipped in Euboean Chalcis, whereas Briareos was the father of Euboea (Hsch. τ 972).²¹ The mythological tradition of the Hundred-Hander(s) thus points to the island of Euboea. This is hardly contradicted by the fact that Kottos is a typically Thracian name,²² since Thracian influence on Euboea is not improbable, considering its relative vicinity. As Homer, like the *Titanomachy*, mentions only one Hundred-Hander whom "the gods call Briareos but all mortals Aigaion" (*Il.* I.403),²³ Hesiod probably expanded upon an older tradition of only one Hundred-Hander.

¹⁹ For the influence of the *Titanomachy* on Antimachus in this respect see V.J. Matthews, *Antimachus of Colophon: text and commentary* (Leiden, 1996) 108f.

²⁰ For Gyges see West on Hes. *Th.* 149; Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Od.* 2.17.14.

²¹ Solinus 11.16; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Karystos*; schol. AR 1.1165; Eust. on *Il.* II.539. Verg. *Aen.* 10.565 (with Harrison) still pictures him as an opponent of Zeus.

²² Nisbet on Cic. *Pis.* 84; N. Theodossiev, "Koteous Hêliou and Koteous Mêtros Oreas," *Hermes* 129 (2001) 279-83.

²³ For this verse and the name Aigaion see the interesting discussion by R.L. Fowler, "Aἰγ- in Early Greek Language and Myth," *Phoenix* 42 (1988) 95-113.

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Hesiod also transformed older traditions in the case of the Cyclopes whom he calls Brontes, Steropes and Arges (*Th.* 140). The names clearly reflect their fabrication of the thunder as Zeus' weapon (504-5, 690-1, 707, 845-6) and are therefore hardly original.²⁴ The *Titanomachy* (fr. 4^{AB} D = 7 B), on the other hand, calls the two female horses of the sun Bronte and Sterope, and may not have used the Cyclopes. Their place in the early divine history, then, seems to be a Hesiodic invention, as is also suggested by the somewhat clumsy location of their begetting in the *Theogony*.²⁵ Moreover, the names of Hector's horses in the *Iliad* (VIII.185), Aithon and Lampos, also look inspired by the names of the mares of the sun in the *Titanomachy*.²⁶ Apparently, not only Hesiod but also Homer drew on an older tradition.

Aither was the father of Ouranos (fr. 1 D = 2 B), who begat a number of sons and daughters by Gaia, the Titans and Titanides. Martin West suggests that originally "they must have been a collective body...without individual names and of indefinite number".²⁷ This can hardly be true, since all our sources provide lists of names and there is no reason to think otherwise of the oldest tradition; the more so, since the Titans will have been the children of the primeval couple. Apollodorus lists the following sons: Okeanos, Koios, Hyperion, Krios, Iapetus and Kronos, as did Hesiod (*Th.* 133-7) and Akousilaos.²⁸ With

²⁴ For the thunder-weapon see M.L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 2007) 252f.

²⁵ West on Hes. *Th.* 139-53 and "'Eumelos'," 117.

²⁶ As observed by Janko on *Il.* XV.690-2. Of these horse-names, only Aithon is the name of several mythical horses, cf. R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (Oxford, 2001) 261, 324.

²⁷ West on Hes. *Th.* 133.

²⁸ Akousilaos *FGrH* 2 F 7 = Akousilaos F 7 Fowler.

the addition of Phorkys the same names occur in an Orphic poem (*OF* 179) and, albeit without Okeanos and Phorkys, in an inscription from Imbros.²⁹ The daughters are Tethys, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoebe, Dione and Thia. This is the same list as in Hesiod (*Th.* 135-6) with the addition of Dione, who also occurs in the just mentioned Orphic poem.³⁰ Did Hesiod abbreviate an original list of fourteen sons and daughters with one of each or did later poets add to the list? Groups of seven are of course very natural in ancient poetry (unlike groups of six) but in Hittite tradition the ‘olden gods’ (§ 2) usually number twelve.³¹ Maybe the latter tradition, then, is the oldest. This is the more likely, since Plato also seems to have known an Orphic poem with only twelve Titans.³² Later tradition occasionally mentions other Titans as well, such as Sykeus, Pallas or Atlas, but they clearly do not belong to the original list.³³

Gaia stimulated the Titans to rise against Ouranos. All consented, except Okeanos (§ 2), but it was Kronos who cut off his father’s genitals with a sickle and subsequently

²⁹ *IG* XII 8.9. Hyg. *Fab. praef.* 3 contains a composite list.

³⁰ For Dione see E. Simon, “Dione,” in *LIMC* III.1 (1986) 411-3; G. Dunkel, “Vater Himmels Gattin,” *Die Sprache* 34 (1988-90) 1-26, to be read with the comments by West, *Indo-European Poetry*, 192; O. Palagia, “Zeus Naïos kai Diōne stin Akropoli tōn Athinōn,” *Benaki Museum Supplement* 1 (Athens 2002) 171-80. Note that Dione is absent from the list of Titanides in *POxy.* 61.4099.9-10, re-edited by Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers’ Digests?*, 320.

³¹ E.E. Elmes and P.D. Miller, “Olden Gods,” in *DDD*², 641-5 at 643; West, *Indo-European Poetry*, 162f.

³² Pl. *Tim.* 40e, cf. M.L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983) 121.

³³ For the fullest list see Wüst, “Titanes,” 1506-8; C. Marconi, “I Titani e Zeus Olympio. Sugli Atlanti dell’*Olympieion* di Agrigento,” *Prospettiva* 87-88 (1997) 2-13.

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became king. The military usage of the sickle in Anatolia suggests an Anatolian origin of this motif, since other indications also point in that geographical direction (§ 2).³⁴ Kronos first released the brothers who had been chained in Tartarus, but subsequently shut them up again. He then married his sister Rhea, who bore him a number of children whom Kronos immediately swallowed, afraid as he was of a competitor for the throne. These children remained like babies in Kronos' belly: the parallel with the hiding of the first generation of gods in 'Gaia's hole' (Hes. *Th.* 158) is evident.

When Rhea was pregnant with Zeus she took refuge in Crete, where she hid the baby Zeus in a cave and gave his father a stone to swallow. Apollodorus locates the cave at Dicte, but Hesiod (484) mentions a Mt. Aigaion near Lyctus. Until now, no archaic Dictaeon cave has been discovered, and Zeus' sanctuary at Dicte was an important centre of his cult only in later historical times, whereas Lyctus probably already occurs on the Linear-B tablets.³⁵ Consequently, Hesiod must follow here a tradition that goes back to, possibly, Minoan times. Such a Minoan connection could perhaps also be supported by the mention of the stone, since on some Minoan glyptic scenes a young god is associated with an oval stone,³⁶ and the struggle between the gods clearly has shifted from an Orient-

³⁴ Greece: U. Kron, "Sickles in Greek sanctuaries: votives and cultic instruments," in R. Hägg (ed.), *Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Archaeological Evidence* (Stockholm, 1998) 187-216. Anatolia: L. Robert, *Hellenica* 10 (1955) 12; N.V. Sekunda, "Anatolian War Sickles and the Coinage of Etenna," in R. Ashton (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey* (London, 1996) 9-17.

³⁵ E. Visser, *Homers Katalog der Schiffe* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997) 616.

³⁶ C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *'Reading' Greek Culture* (Oxford, 1991) 226.

inspired tradition to a Crete-inspired tradition.³⁷ In Apollodorus, the stay in Crete is even more elaborate and evidently draws on local traditions, such as the presence of the Kouretes and the goat Amaltheia.³⁸

When Zeus became an adult, he married Metis, a daughter of Okeanos. She gave Kronos a drug to swallow that forced him to vomit out the stone and Zeus' siblings. In Hesiod (*Th.* 886-900), Gaia and Ouranos warned Zeus that Metis would bear dangerous children and advised him to swallow her.³⁹ He followed their advice and thus prevented the birth of a possible pretender, a narrative possibility taken up by some Orphics (§ 2). With the aid of his siblings Zeus started a revolt against Kronos and the Titans. After a war of ten years, Gaia advised him to release the Cyclopes if he wanted to gain victory. So Zeus slew their gaoler Kampe, released them and with the help of weapons forged by the Cyclopes he defeated the Titans.⁴⁰ They were imprisoned in Tartarus guarded by the

³⁷ For the Orphic origin of this part see West, *Orphic Poems*, 121-6.

³⁸ Local traditions: Bob Fowler compares Diod. Sic. 5.80, quoting 'Epimenides' *FGrH* 457 F 17 and 458 F 1 = 'Epimenides' F 4 Fowler and concludes (*per email*): "it's perfectly credible that there were native Cretan traditions which got into the mythographical tradition". Kouretes: B. Legras, "Mallokouria et mallocourètes. Un rite de passage dans l'Égypte romaine," *Cahiers du Centre G. Glotz* 4 (1993) 113-27; F. Graf, "Ephesische und andere Kureten," in H. Friesinger and F. Krinzinger (eds), *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos* (Vienna, 1999) 255-62. Amaltheia: Bremmer, "Amaltheia," in *Der Neue Pauly* 1 (1996) 568-69; C. Grottanelli, *Sette storie bibliche* (Brescia, 1998) 166.

³⁹ For the other testimonies of this swallowing see T. Schmidt on *POxy.* 65.4460, which misspells Metis as Menthis.

⁴⁰ Note that Zeus is called 'he who fought against the Titans' in a fourth-century Koan *defixio*:

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Hundred-Handers; Homer calls them already the ‘lower gods’, and as ‘subterranean Titans’ they now have emerged in a Sicilian *defixio*.⁴¹ Zeus’ role in the victory dance procession was mentioned in the *Titanomachy* (fr. 5 D = 6 B).⁴² After the defeat the three main gods divided the universe between them by lot: Zeus gained the sky and sovereignty, Poseidon the sea and Pluto the underworld. The same connection between victory and lottery is already found in Homer (*Il.* XV.185-93) and Orphic mythology, and, like some earlier discussed motifs, probably goes back to an older tradition as well.⁴³

Apollodorus concludes his report of Zeus’ rise to power with an enumeration of the Titans’ offspring. Amongst them he mentions the Centaur Cheiron, the son of Kronos and Philyra, and his justice.⁴⁴ Hesiod (*Th.* 1001) only mentions Cheiron and his mother, but the *Titanomachy* (fr. 9 D = 10 B) reports that Kronos mated in the shape of a horse with Philyra;⁴⁵ such hippomorphic matings are not uncommon in Greek mythology and usually belong to the older strata.⁴⁶ Apollodorus also mentions the Nereids immediately

SEG 47.1291.27.

⁴¹ *Il.* XIV.274, XV.225; Hes. *Th.* 851; SEG 47.1442. In Antimachus fr. 41a, Aidoneus sees the “earthborn gods, the earlier-born Titans” in Tartarus.

⁴² A. Lebedev, “The Justice of Chiron (Titanomachia, Fr. 6 and 11 B.),” *Philologus* 142 (1998) 3-10 at 3-5.

⁴³ As is argued by Janko on *Il.* XV.185-93.

⁴⁴ Lebedev, “Justice of Chiron”.

⁴⁵ The mating is also mentioned by Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 50 = F 50 Fowler; Hyg. *Fab.* 138.

⁴⁶ In addition to Kronos, Janko on *Il.* XIV.317-8 compares the cases of Boreas, Zephyros and Poseidon; see also Bremmer, *Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1999²) 18.

after the Titans' offspring, but their catalogue is already pre-Homeric.⁴⁷ It seems therefore not unreasonable to suppose that the *Titanomachy* included them, too. And if the following fragment of the *Titanomachy* (fr. 8 D = 4 B):

Afloat in it are golden-eyed mute fishes,
swimming and playing in the ambrosial water.

indeed refers to the Flood,⁴⁸ the epic may have even been concluded with the Flood and anthropogony. The latter is the more likely, since Cheiron is said to have brought 'the race of mortals to a state of justice' (fr. 6 D = 11 B), something he could hardly have done without the creation of humankind.

2. *The Titans and their origins*

Having analysed the main source for the struggle of the Titans, let us now take a look at the traditions about the individual rebels. As the names of the female Titans were clearly the product of 'poetic padding',⁴⁹ we will limit ourselves to the male Titans. In this way we may be in a better position to establish the origin and early development of their

⁴⁷ As is shown by R. Wachter, "Nereiden und Neoanalyse. Ein Blick hinter die Ilias," *Würzb. Jahrb. Alt.* 16 (1990) 19-31. P. Scarpi, *Apollodoro: I miti greci* (Milano, 1996) 675-6 provides a useful synoptic survey of the catalogues in Homer (*Il.* XVIII.38-49), Hesiod (*Th.* 240-64), Hyginus (*Fab. Praef.* 8) and Apollodorus (1.2.6).

⁴⁸ See this volume, Chapter VI, section 1. For a different suggestion see West, "'Eumelos'," 118.

⁴⁹ I owe the expression to Bob Fowler. For the matter see West on Hes. *Th.* 135-6.

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tradition. Let us start with Okeanos, who is always the first mentioned and seems to have been the oldest.⁵⁰ He is the fresh water that encircles the world and the source of all rivers and springs (*Il.* XXI.195-7). Naturally, he is indispensable and therefore depicted as staying aloof from the struggles between the first generations (*Il.* 14.200-4; Apollod. 1.1.4). Other Titans are relatively obscure: about Kreios nothing else is known; Phorkys is the name of a Phrygian king in the *Iliad* (II.862) and the son of Pontos in Hesiod (*Th.* 237). Hyperion, whose name is a relatively young coinage,⁵¹ is the father of the sun (*Th.* 374, 1011). Koios is the father of Leto,⁵² and his name connects him to the island of Kos, where an early epic, the *Meropis*, located several giants;⁵³ Latin poetry remembered his enmity against Zeus.⁵⁴ However, the most important Titans are Iapetos and Kronos, the only ones mentioned by name in Homer (*Il.* VIII.479). Iapetos' name is strangely reminiscent of Japheth, the son of Noah, who is the ancestor of peoples and tribes north

⁵⁰ For his pre-Greek name see E.J. Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen des Vorgriechischen* (The Hague, 1972) 124; W. Fauth, "Prähellenische Flutnamen: Og(es)-Ogen(-os)-Ogygos," *Beiträge zur Namensforschung* 23 (1988) 361-79.

⁵¹ C.J. Ruijgh, *Scripta minora* I (Amsterdam, 1991) 277, overlooked by Ch. de Lamberterie, *Rev. Philol.* 73 (1999) 105f.

⁵² Hes. *Th.* 404; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 62 cj; Pind. fr. 33d3; Tac. *Ann.* 12.61; Paus. 4.33.6; *Et. Magnum* 264.

⁵³ *P. Köln* 3.126 = *SH* 903A = *Meropis* B, cf. Janko on *Il.* XIV.250-5.

⁵⁴ Propertius 3.9.48; Verg. *G.* 1.279; Hyg. *Fab. praef.* 4; Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 3.224; Servius on Verg. *G.* 1.278, 2.460, *Aen.* 8.103.

of Canaan (*Genesis* 10.2-5; *I Chronicles* 1.5-7).⁵⁵ He was considered to be one of the oldest gods of Greece, and his name was used as an insult to old people.⁵⁶ However, like most other Titans he is a shadowy figure and his role is mainly to be the father of Prometheus and Epimetheus (Apollod. 1.2.3), an intriguing couple that we will soon meet again (§ 3).

Finally, Kronos is clearly a case different from the other Titans, since he has cults, festivals and a specific role in Greek mythology.⁵⁷ As he is the one who becomes king, Greek poetry used the well-known folk motif of the youngest who surprisingly becomes the most important – a striking parallel is the election of David as king in the Old Testament (*I Samuel* 16.1-13). The Homeric formula Κρονου ἄγκυλομῆτεω, ‘of Kronos with the crooked counsels’, only fits the metre with the Ionian contraction, which points to a young stage of entry into the epic.⁵⁸ This is confirmed by the fact that Kronion, the month named after Kronos’ festival Kronia, has supplanted the inherited post-

⁵⁵ Cf. M.L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997) 289-90; B. Becking, “Japheth,” in *DDD*², 462f.

⁵⁶ Old god: schol. Lucian 79.11. Insult: Ar. *Nub.* 998; Suet. *Peri blasphemîôn* 199; Hsch. ι 65; Eust. on *Iliad* VIII.479.

⁵⁷ For Kronos and the Kronia see now F.D. Serbeti, “Kronos,” in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 142-7; H.S. Versnel, *Transition and Reversal in Myth and Ritual* (Leiden, 1993) 89-135; W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II (Göttingen, 2003) 154-71; G. Baudy, “Kronos,” in *Der Neue Pauly* 6 (1999) 864-70 at 866 unconvincingly explains Kronos and the Titans as “myth[ische] Präfigurationen der Erntearbeiter,” but a connection with the harvest has long been refuted, cf. F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 93.

⁵⁸ W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* I (Göttingen, 2001) 11.

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Mycenean Ionian month-name Hekatombaion only in a very limited area,⁵⁹ namely in Samos and its colony Perinthos,⁶⁰ Amorgos (*IG* XII 7, 237), Naxos (*IG* XII 5, 45), Notion/Kolophon,⁶¹ and Magnesia on the Maeander (*I. Magnesia* 98). Evidently, the origin of Kronos must be looked for in that region in about the eighth century BC. His non-Greek etymology suggests an import from neighbouring peoples, such as the Solymoi, Lycians and Cilicians, who, unlike the Greeks themselves, attached a certain importance to Kronos.⁶² This makes it very likely that behind Kronos we have to suspect

⁵⁹ C. Trümper, *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen* (Heidelberg, 1997) 14 and J. Sarkady, *Studies in Greek Heortology* (Debrecen 1998) 114-5, claim that Kronion had preceded Hekatombaion in Athens, referring to Plut. *Thes.* 12.2; *Et. Magnum* 321. However, these notices must be later inferences from the existence of the Kronia, since Hekatombaion was clearly the old Ionian month.

⁶⁰ Samos: *IG* XII 6 1, 172 A.2 and 182.108, cf. K. Hallof, *Chiron* 29 (1999) 193-6. Perinthos: Papias, *Vocabularium* (Milano, 1476), s.v. *Cromon perinthiorum lingua Iunius mensis* (the book lacks page numbers but is alphabetically ordered), cf. L.O. Bröcher, "Beiträge zur antiken monatskunde," *Philologus* 2 (1847) 246-61 at 248.

⁶¹ T. Macridi, *Jahresh. Öst. Arch. Inst.* 8 (1905) 161-3, no. 1, re-edited by M. Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* II (Paris, 1938) 51-60; B.D. Meritt, *Am. J. Philol.* 56 (1935), 375.80; *SEG* 42.1065; L. and K. Hallof, *Chiron* 28 (1998) 140f.

⁶² Etymology: see the dictionaries of Frisk and Chantraine. Solymoi and Lycians: Plut. *M.* 421d; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 50-4; E. Raimond, "Tlos, un centre de pouvoir politique et religieux de l'âge du Bronze au IV^e s. av. J.-C.," *Anatolia Antiqua* 10 (2002) 113-29. Cilicians: K. Ehling *et al.* (ed.), *Kulturbeggnung in einem Brückenland. Gottheiten und Kulte als Indikatoren*

a Hittite or other, indigenous, god. And indeed, more than half a century ago, it was suggested that Kronos had to be connected with the Hittite theophorous name Kurunni.⁶³ Unfortunately, the name occurs only once in our evidence, which makes the suggestion less probable.⁶⁴ However this may be, from southern Ionia, Kronos' festival spread to Athens, a city with an unusual number of slaves to whom the festival must have exerted a

von Akkulturationsprozessen im Ebenen Kilikien (Bonn, 2004) 157-61 (K. Ehling: 'Titanen in Kilikien').

⁶³ A. Erzen, *Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft* (Diss. Leipzig, 1940) 106 note 31, cf. A. Goetze, "Cuneiform Inscriptions from Tarsus," *J. Am. Or. Soc.* 59 (1939) 1-16 at 7, 9.

⁶⁴ As Theo van den Hout kindly pointed out to me (*per* email of 23 October 2007).

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certain attraction.⁶⁵ During the Athenian Kronia,⁶⁶ masters dined together with their slaves sometime after the completion of the harvest.⁶⁷

In Egypt, the cult of Kronos was established virtually right from the beginning of the foundation of Alexandria, and his festival remained popular into Late Antiquity.⁶⁸ However, this is a different case from the others, since in Egypt Kronos had been identified with Geb, the Egyptian god of the earth.⁶⁹ The difference is also clearly

⁶⁵ [Plut.], *Hom.* 1.4.3 also mentions the festival for Thebes, but note the doubts of Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* V.2, 163.

⁶⁶ Dem. 24.26 with scholion; Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 97 with Jacoby; B.D Meritt and J.S. Traill, *The Athenian Agora XV. Inscriptions: The Athenian Councillors* (Athens, 1974) no. 81.6 where [συνετέλεσα]ν τὰ Κρο[όνια] is convincingly restored in an Athenian prytany inscription of 267/6 BC⁰ Machon *apud* Athenaeus 13.581a; Accius, *Ann.* 3, ed. E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 2003²) 58; R. Parker, *Polytheism and Athenian Society* (Oxford, 2005) 202f. Courtney follows K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (Munich, 1960) 254 in thinking that the Saturnalia became a slave festival only in 217 BC, but Latte, Courtney and Versnel, *Transition and Reversal*, 136-227 (“Saturnus and the Saturnalia”) have all overlooked the early testimony of Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20.

⁶⁷ Such rituals of reversal are well known, widely attested and admirably studied by Versnel, *Transition and Reversal*, 89-227.

⁶⁸ Diocles *apud* Athenaeus 3.110b; Macr. *Sat.* 1.7.14-5; see also *POxy.* 1.122, 7.1025.

⁶⁹ This has escaped Burkert, Versnel, and D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt* (Princeton, 1998) 57 (who thinks of the Egyptian gods Sobek or Petbe). For Geb/Kronos see C.E. Holm, *Griechisch-Ägyptische Namenstudien* (Uppsala, 1936); H. te Velde, “Geb,” in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II (Wiesbaden, 1979) 427-9; A. Geissen and M. Weber, “Untersuchungen zu den

demonstrated by Egyptian onomastics, where we can find dozens of examples of theophoric names like Kronides, whereas such names are virtually absent from the rest of Greece.⁷⁰

Apart from the Kronia,⁷¹ we have only a few testimonies regarding a cult of Kronos. In Athens there was a temple of Kronos and Rhea; on Sicily Kronos had a sanctuary in Leontini and appears on coins of Himera, and in Lebadeia Kronos received a preliminary sacrifice before Zeus.⁷² The only place where Kronos received more than passing attention was Olympia. Here there was a hill named after Kronos; sacred officials, called *Basilai*, sacrificed to Kronos at the spring equinox, and there was an altar for Kronos and Rhea. His worship must have started at an early stage, since an inscription on the rim of an Olympian cauldron of ca. 550 BC already mentions ‘Regulation of the sacrifices for Kronos for the *theokolos* (priest)’.⁷³

ägyptischen Namenprägungen,” *ZPE* 144 (2003) 277-300 at 280-84, 289.

⁷⁰ R. Parker, “Theophoric Names and Greek Religion,” in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds), *Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, 2000) 53-79 at 58.

⁷¹ According to Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 158, the festival also spread to Cyrene, but his source Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.7.25) refers to the Saturnalia, not the Kronia, since he explains: *mellis et fructuum repertorem Saturnum aestimantes*.

⁷² Athens: Paus. 1.18.7; note also F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément* (Paris, 1962) no. 52.23. Leontini: Ibycus S 220. Himera: Serbeti, “Kronos,” no’s 1-2. Lebadeia: Paus. 9.39.3.

⁷³ Hill: Pind. *O.* 5.17, 6.64, 9.3; Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 1.34.3; Paus. 5.21.2, 6.19.1 and 20.1-2. *Basilai*: Paus. 6.20.1. Altars: Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F 34. Rim: *SEG* 42.373.

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In Rhodos, a man used to be sacrificed to Kronos, but the custom was later abolished.⁷⁴ Kronos' connection to a human sacrifice was not uncommon. It is also attested for Crete in the context of the Kouretes,⁷⁵ and in Carthage Kronos was identified with Baal Hammon, the god to whom children were sacrificed.⁷⁶ This identification took place at an early stage, since Sophocles already connects Kronos to human sacrifice by barbarians.⁷⁷ In all these cases we may assume the influence of Kronos' mythical devouring of his children; in fact, an imperial inscription still calls him 'Kronos the child-eater'.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Porph. *Abst.* 2.54, quoted by Eus. *PE* 4.16.1 and *De Laude Constant.* 13.7.6; Theodoretus, *Graec. aff. cur.* 7.41, cf. Bremmer, "Myth and Ritual in Greek Human Sacrifice: Lykaon, Polyxena and the Case of the Rhodian Criminal," in J.N. Bremmer (ed.), *The Strange World of Human Sacrifice* (Leuven, 2007) 55-79 at 56-9.

⁷⁵ Istros *FGrH* 334 F 48; Eus. *PE* 4.16.7, cf. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 417.

⁷⁶ Clitarchus *FGrH* 137 F 9; Diod. Sic. 5.66.5, 13.86.3; 20.14.6; Curtius Rufus 4.3.23; Plut. *M.* 171c, 552a, 942c; Tert. *Apol.* 9.2; Porph. *Abst.* 2.27. For these much debated sacrifices see most recently J.-M. Poinssotte, "Le témoignage de Tertullien sur les sacrifices d'enfants à Carthage (*Apol.*, 9, 2-6) est-il crédible?," *Lalies* 16 (1996) 29-33; K. Koch, "Molek astral," in A. Lange *et al.* (eds), *Mythos im Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt* (Berlin and New York, 1999) 29-50; C. Grottanelli, "Ideologie del sacrificio umano: Roma e Cartagine," *Arch. f. Religionsgesch.* 1 (1999) 41-59; B. Reynolds, "Molek: Dead or Alive?," in K. Finsterbusch *et al.* (eds), *Human Sacrifice in Jewish and Christian Tradition* (Leiden, 2007) 133-50; A. Cadotte, *La Romanisation des Dieux. L'interpretatio romana en Afrique du Nord sous le Haut-Empire* (Leiden, 2007) 25f.

⁷⁷ Sophocles fr. 126; note also *TGrF* Adesp. 233.

⁷⁸ *SEG* 31.1285 (*teknophagos*).

From this short survey we can conclude that originally Kronos was worshipped only in Southern Ionia and neighbouring islands, the very limited area where his festival, the Kronia, had been prominent enough to give its name to the month in which it was celebrated. Other occurrences can be satisfactorily explained as influences from this original area (Athens) or influences from Homer and Hesiod (Rhodos, Leontini, Himera,⁷⁹ Lebadeia and Olympia).⁸⁰

Although we know some details of the Kronia ritual, it is still unclear whether or in what way this ritual was associated with the myth of Kronos and the Titans. In this respect, a recent discovery can help us to advance our knowledge. In 1983 a Hurrian-Hittite bilingual (*ca.* 1400 BC) was found in Hattuša with an *Epic of Release*, that is, the release of slaves and the remission of debts, such as we know from the Hebrew Jubilee festival (*Leviticus* 25).⁸¹ The bilingual does not mention the ritual itself, but only supplies

⁷⁹ Bob Fowler (*per email*) suggests that the case of Himera could be eventually due to a Euboean connection, since Himera was founded from Messana, which in its turn was founded from Campanian Kyme, itself a Chalcidian foundation. Alternatively, there could have been influence from the Carthaginian child sacrifices (note 75).

⁸⁰ It may be observed in passing that this result does not support the elaborate conclusions regarding the relationship between myth and ritual, which Versnel, *Transition and Reversal*, 15-88, has drawn on the basis of the Kronos myth, cf. Bremmer, "Myth and Ritual in Ancient Greece: Observations on a Difficult Relationship," in R. von Haehling (ed.), *Griechische Mythologie und Frühchristentum* (Darmstadt, 2005) 21-43.

⁸¹ See now E. Neu, *Das hurritische Epos der Freilassung I* (Wiesbaden, 1996); S. de Martino, "Il "canto della liberazione": composizione letteraria bilingue hurrico-ittita sulla distruzione di Ebla," *Parola del Passato* 55 (2000) 269-320.

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the accompanying myth. In this myth the highest god of heaven, Tessub, meets with the Sun goddess of the Earth, Allani, for a meal in which also the ‘primeval gods’, who had been banished to the underworld, participate; they sit even at the right hand of Tessub. The celebration of the temporary suspension of the cosmic order surely accompanied the temporary suspension of the social order on earth. In other words, the myth with the ‘primeval gods’ will have been associated with a ritual of reversal between masters and slaves. Now the Titans were also called ‘the old gods’,⁸² old and/or dumb people were insulted as Kronoi, and Attic comedy used expressions such as ‘older than Kronos’ and ‘older than Kronos and the Titans’.⁸³ Evidently, the antiquity of this divine generation had become proverbial at a relatively early stage of the tradition. The Titans thus can be legitimately compared to the Hurrian ‘primeval’ gods.

The mention of the city of Ebla in the Hurrian/Hittite epic shows that the origin of this ‘ritual of reversal’ has to be looked for in Northern Syria and from there travelled to the Hittites. Given the similarity between the rituals, it is not too adventurous to connect the North Syrian ritual with the Kronia in Ionia.⁸⁴ In fact, we have an excellent parallel for such a Greek borrowing from North Syria. As recent findings have demonstrated, the ritual of the scapegoat originated in exactly the same area, was also taken over by the Hittites and, like the Kronia, also arrived in Ionia. Here, one of its earliest attestations is

⁸² West on Hes. *Th.* 486; schol. Lyc. 1191; schol. Luc. 24.23.

⁸³ Ar. *Av.* 469; Philonides, fr. 17 (?); *PCG* Adespota, fr. 573, 607, 610, 676, 751; Strabo 14.2.21; Suet. *Peri blasphemion*, 198; Diog. Laert. 2.111; Hsch. κ 4190.

⁸⁴ As is persuasively suggested by Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 164, overlooked by De Martino, “Il “canto della liberazione”.”

in Hipponax' hometown of Kolophon⁸⁵ – precisely one of the few cities that first celebrated the Kronia.

An origin of the Titans from North Syria perhaps gains additional support from its etymology. Admittedly, the close connection of the Titans with Kronos who is always called 'king',⁸⁶ the stress on kingship in the Derveni Papyrus, and the prominence of royal succession in our story, seems to support those scholars who connect the term with two pre-Greek glosses: *titênê*, 'queen' and *titax*, 'ruler, king'.⁸⁷ However, if this group of words is to be connected with the name of the Titans, that meaning had become lost to the Greeks themselves, who clearly thought otherwise. Hesiod (*Th.* 209) connects the name with Greek *titainô*, 'to stretch', although it is not clear what he means,⁸⁸ whereas later explanations connect the term with *tinô*, 'to pay a price', thus referring to the eventual fate of the Titans (above). In Late Antiquity the name of the Titans was even connected with plaster, *titanos*, since in the Orphic version (§ 3) the Titans plastered themselves before attacking Dionysos.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ See this volume, Chapter X, section 3.

⁸⁶ Versnel, *Transition and Reversal*, 95, 99; add, perhaps, Anon. Dor., fr. 9.

⁸⁷ Aesch. fr. 36b2II 9 (?), 272; Hsch. τ 979; A. Nehring, "Griech. τίταξ, τιτήνη und ein vorgriechisches κ-suffix," *Glotta* 14 (1925) 153-92; Furnée, *Die wichtigsten konsonantischen Erscheinungen*, 191, 290, 373.

⁸⁸ Hes. *Th.* 207-10 and West *ad loc.*; Y. Duhoux, "Le caractère des Titans – A propos d'une "étymologie" hésiodique," in M. Hofinger *et al.* (eds), *Recherches de philologie et de linguistique* (Louvain, 1967) 35-46 (hardly persuasive).

⁸⁹ Wüst, "Titanes," 1492-3; see now also A. Bernabé, "La *Teogonia* de Epimenide," in E. Federico and A. Visconti (eds), *Epimenide cretese* (Naples, 2001) 195-216 at 202-3.

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Walter Burkert has taken a different road. He connects the name Titan with Akkadian *titu*, ‘clay’, which is reflected in Greek *titanos*, since figurines representing the Mesopotamian equivalents of the Titans who were used for magic or in oaths were made of clay. However, even Burkert himself considers this a ‘daring hypothesis’.⁹⁰ On the other hand, he also draws attention to the fact that the mythical ancestor of the kings in Ugarit is called Ditanu. Subsequent research has pointed out that Ditanu seems to refer to a mythical group, the mythical royal ancestors. Given the eventual origin of the Titans from North Syria, an etymological connection with these Ditanu is not impossible – even though there is very little known about these royal ancestors.⁹¹

It is time to reach a conclusion. What can we now say about the origin and development of the Titans and the *Titanomachy* on the basis of our discussion? It is clear that Apollodorus made use of Hesiod in his version of the Greek divine *Urgeschichte*, but also used material from an earlier poem, the *Titanomachy*, which described the genesis of the Greek pantheon. This poem contained material older than that of Homer and Hesiod, like such frivolous and unenlightened details as a dancing Zeus or a hippomorphic mating, but also the lottery, Aigaion and the names of the mares of the sun. However, as West has shown, the *Titanomachy* cannot be dated earlier than the later seventh or the

⁹⁰ W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge Mass., 1992) 94-5 and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* (Cambridge Mass., 2004) 33f.

⁹¹ Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 204 note 28, overlooked by A. Annus, “Are there Greek Rephaim? On the etymology of Greek Titans,” *Ugarit-Forschungen* 31 (1999) 13-30, whose own exposition suffers from an overall lack of knowledge of ancient Greece.

sixth century.⁹² Consequently, the poet of this poem took some of his material from an older treatment of the Titanic struggle.

I would like to suggest that this older treatment, which also influenced Homer and Hesiod, was the myth belonging to the ritual of the Kronia in the area where this festival originated. It well fits this hypothesis that West has persuasively identified Eumelos, fr. 4 D (dub.) = 18 B, which says that Zeus was born in Lydia, as a fragment of the *Titanomachy* about Zeus' birth on Mt Sipylos: the place of birth perfectly suits the identified area (Samos, Magnesia etc.). The myth derived the Titans from North Syria and the general scheme of the Succession motif from, eventually, the Hittite-Hurrian *Kumarbi Cycle*,⁹³ whereas additional motifs were derived from *Atrahasis*.⁹⁴ As the *Song of Kumarbi* is the first song of the *Kumarbi Cycle*,⁹⁵ and Homer took some of his Oriental material from the beginnings of *Atrahasis* and *Enumah elish*, poems which were especially popular in school curricula, it is not improbable that this material eventually

⁹² West, "'Eumelos'," 110-11, who at 111-18 also lists other older motifs in the poem.

⁹³ For this *Cycle* see most recently V. Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion* (Leiden, 1994) 82-99; F. Pecchioli Daddi, "Lotte di dèi per la supremazia celeste," in S. Ribichini *et al.* (eds), *La questione delle influenze vicino-orientali sulla religione greca* (Rome, 2001) 403-11.

⁹⁴ S.R. West, "Prometheus Orientalized," *MH* 51 (1994) 129-49 at 145-9.

⁹⁵ H. Hoffner, "The Song of Silver," in E. Neu and C. Rüster (eds), *Documentum Asiae Minoris Antiquae* (Wiesbaden, 1988) 143-66.

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derived from visits to an Oriental school,⁹⁶ although a consultation of books cannot be wholly excluded.⁹⁷

However this may be, it is clear that the poet who composed the first Greek poem about the battle of the Olympians against the Titans used an Oriental model that he adapted for his audience by filling in the collectivity of the ‘old gods’ with Greek names. Both the relatively young name of Hyperion (above) and the recent entry of Kronos into Ionian epic (above) suggest that this must have happened in the later eighth century, virtually at the same time as the taking over of the ritual. The date also gains support from at least one performance of this material that has left its imprints on the text. Although Eumelos, the author of the *Titanomachy*, came from Corinth, very little about the text is Corinthian. However, the connection of Aigaion with Euboea (above) points to that stage of Greek epic during which Euboea was an important centre; consequently, the myth (poem) of the Titanic struggle passed through Euboea before reaching Corinth. Evidently, the myth (poem) originated in that early stage of Greek epic before the cultural centre had shifted from the islands to Corinth and Sparta in the first decades of the seventh century.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 95; for another example add now J.H. Huehnergard and W.H. van Soldt, “A Cuneiform Lexical Text from Ashkelon with a Canaanite Column,” *Israel Expl. J.* 49 (1999) 184-92.

⁹⁷ A. Millard, “Books in the Late Bronze Age in the Levant,” *Israel Or. Stud.* 18 (1998) 171-81.

⁹⁸ See the perceptive observations of Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* I, 127-37. For the importance of Euboea for early epic see M.L. West, “The Rise of the Greek Epic,” *JHS* 108 (1988) 151-72 at 166-9; C.J. Ruijgh, “La date de la création de l’alphabet grec et celle de l’épopée homérique,” *Bibl. Orient.* 54 (1997) 533-603 at 595-7.

3. *The Titans and anthropogony*

In later times, several communities in Greece tried to appropriate the famous struggle of the Titans. In this game of mythological one-upmanship, Eretria claimed that its eponymous ancestor was a Titan, and the Aetolian poet Nicander probably made Aetolia into the *Ursitz* of the Titans.⁹⁹ We know a bit more about Athens. Here, when discussing the Titans at the opening of their *Atthides*, local historians mentioned that ‘the whole’ (of Greece?) or ‘Attica’ was called ‘land of the Titans’. It was named after an eponymous hero “Titenios, one older than the Titans, who lived near Marathon and who alone did not fight against the gods”.¹⁰⁰ Jacoby suggests that these Titans were not the canonical ones but “divine beings in a wider sense, of very great age, prior not only to the Olympic gods but perhaps also to the Titans of Hesiod”.¹⁰¹ This seems unnecessary. What we clearly have here is an Attic attempt to claim a hero even older than the Titans. More indirectly, the local historian Phanodemos also claimed a Titanic origin for the Hyperboreans. As he probably mentioned these in his discussion of Delos in which he tried to prove that the island with its important cult of Apollo had been dependent on Athens from the earliest times, his was probably another attempt at claiming the Titans for Athens.¹⁰² In these

⁹⁹ Eretria: Eust. on *Il.* II.537. Aetolia: Nicander *FGrH* 271-2 F 4-5 with Jacoby.

¹⁰⁰ Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 74; Istros *FGrH* 334 F 1. Jacoby suggests that the motif of Titenios’ neutrality in the war derives from Hesiod (*Th.* 392ff), but it rather seems to have been inspired by the neutral role of Okeanos (§ 2).

¹⁰¹ Jacoby on Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F 74.

¹⁰² Phanodemos *FGrH* 325 F 29, cf. Jacoby on Phanodemos F 2.

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cases, it is clearly the perceived hoary antiquity of the Titans that facilitated the appropriations.

This antiquity probably caused the Titans to be connected with anthropogony at an early stage of Greek history. Greek culture had a tradition of local *Urmänner* (not: *Urfrauen*),¹⁰³ which was so firmly entrenched that early Greek cosmogonies talk about the coming into being of cosmos and pantheon, but do not mention the creation of man.¹⁰⁴ However, Hesiod mentions that Iapetos was the father of Prometheus and Epimetheus, “who from the very beginning was an evil for grain-eating men, since he was the first to receive from Zeus a woman, a virgin” (*Th.* 512-4). According to West (*ad loc.*), Epimetheus’ ‘name is evidently invented as the opposite of Prometheus’. Is this likely?

For Hesiod, the first woman was Pandora, but she clearly is a Thessalian import in an existing story.¹⁰⁵ In an interesting fragment of his *Corinthiaca*, the poet Eumelos, whom some sources also credit with the authorship of the *Titanomachy*,¹⁰⁶ mentions that Corinth took its alternative name from ‘Ephyra, the daughter of Okeanos and Tethys’ (fr. 1b D = 1 B). She became the wife of Epimetheus, although according to a different tradition, Ephyra was the daughter of Epimetheus:¹⁰⁷ a similar confusion can be found in the case of Pandora.¹⁰⁸ The fragment demonstrates that Pandora replaces (or is modelled

¹⁰³ M. Luginbühl, *Menschenschöpfungsmythen. Ein Vergleich zwischen Griechenland und dem Alten Testament* (Berne, 1992) 136-43; this volume, Chapter II, introduction.

¹⁰⁴ For Greek cosmogonies see most recently Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* II, 230-47.

¹⁰⁵ See this volume, Chapter II, section 3.

¹⁰⁶ For the *Corinthiaca* see now West, “‘Eumelos’,” 118-26.

¹⁰⁷ Eumelos *FGrH* 451 F 1b = F 1b Fowler.

¹⁰⁸ This volume, Chapter II, section 3.

on) an older primeval woman, who is also married to Epimetheus. Moreover, it makes it improbable that Epimetheus was invented as the opposite of Prometheus: his role is too important to accept such a suggestion. Did Eumelos also use Prometheus in his myths? This cannot be proved with certainty but is not impossible, since Prometheus originally belongs to the Peloponnese, as is already shown by Hesiod's location of the match between Zeus and him in Sicyon¹⁰⁹ – another example of a local performance that has left its mark on a text. Moreover, Epimetheus, as husband of the first woman, is the ancestor of the human race, whose main benefactor is his brother Prometheus, who from the fifth century onwards was also considered a Titan and creator of mankind.¹¹⁰ As, for the Greeks, the primeval stage of mankind is clearly closely connected with these two sons of the Titan Iapetos, one may wonder whether there is, somehow, not a connection with Japheth's own role as ancestor (§ 1).

The primordial couple Okeanos and Tethys also occurs in the *Iliad* (XIV.201), where they derive from the couple Apsu and Tiamat in the Babylonian *Enuma elish* (1.4: the beginning!).¹¹¹ It could well be that Eumelos here followed a tradition that is also found in an old tale retold by Plato in his *Timaeus* (40e), that Okeanos and Tethys are the children of Ouranos and Gaia, but parents of Kronos and Rhea. It is even conceivable that

¹⁰⁹ For Prometheus see this volume, Chapter II, notes 65 and 68. For the importance of Sicyon in the Archaic Age see Visser, *Homers Katalog*, 162-3, 169-70.

¹¹⁰ Titan: Pind. *P.* 4.29; Soph. *OR* 55; Eur. *Ion* 455, *Phoen.* 1122. Creator: this volume, Chapter II, note 65.

¹¹¹ Neither Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 92-3 and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 30-1 nor Janko on *Il.* XIV.200-7 mentions the fragment of Eumelos.

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the order Aither – Uranos and Gaia – Okeanos and Tethys – Kronos and Rhea was the order used by Eumelos, if it was him, in the *Titanomachy*. Like Homer, then, Eumelos seems to have used, directly or indirectly, some of the main Oriental epics.

The reason why the early Greeks connected the origin of humankind with the Titans is not crystal clear, but it seems not impossible that older, mainland traditions merged with the new mythology from the Orient. In any case, the connection of the Titans with anthropogony now remained canonical, since in the sixth-century *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* the poet invokes Ouranos, Gaia and the “divine Titans, who live under the earth somewhere in big Tartarus, from whom are mortals and gods” (334-6). This general statement is followed by “Titans, splendid children of Gaia and Ouranos, ancestors of our fathers” in one of the *Orphic Hymns* (37.1-2), dating to the first centuries AD, but certainly deriving from older Orphic traditions.

It is much more difficult to determine to what extent this conception played a role in the Orphic myth (myths?) of anthropogony that started to appear in veiled form in our texts from the middle of the fifth century onwards.¹¹² After a somewhat allusive summary

¹¹² For the most recent views on Orphism see R. Parker, “Early Orphism,” in A. Powell (ed.), *The Greek World* (London and New York, 1995) 483-510; J.-M. Roessli, “Orpheus, Orphismus und die Orphiker,” in M. Erler and A. Graeser (eds), *Philosophen des Altertums I. Von der Frühzeit bis zur Klassik* (Darmstadt, 2000) 10-35; C. Calame, “Orphik, Orphische Dichtung,” in *Der Neue Pauly* 9 (2000) 58-69; A. Bernabé and A. Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instrucciones para el Más Allá* (Madrid, 2001); Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 15-24 (text), 141-4 (notes); a new translation of the main fragments, A. Bernabé, *Hieros logos. Poesía órfica sobre los dioses, el alma y el más allá* (Madrid, 2003); Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 74-98 and *Kleine Schriften* III (Göttingen, 2006); F. Graf and S.I. Johnston, *Ritual*

by Proclus (*OF* 338) to the already mentioned derivation of mankind from the Titans, we unfortunately find this myth in its most detailed form only in the late antique, sixth-century philosopher Olympiodorus, who relates that Dionysos succeeded Zeus, but was torn apart and eaten by the Titans. When Zeus struck them with his thunderbolt, mankind originated from the soot deposited by the smoke arising from the Titans. That is why we should not commit suicide: our body partakes in Dionysos.¹¹³

When did this myth of the Titans' attack on Dionysos originate?¹¹⁴ Pausanias (7.18.3) mentions a 'Titanic' conspiracy against Dionysos as a piece of local mythology of Patrai – surely an example of local appropriation of a pan-Hellenic myth – but ascribes the origin of this myth to Onomacritus (8.37.4). This cannot be true, as Linforth saw,¹¹⁵ but the myth almost certainly goes back to the fifth century, as it seems alluded to by Pindar (fr. 133), Plato (*Men.* 81bc, *Leg.* 3.701bc, 854b), a newly discovered Orphic tablet from Pherae, and Xenocrates (fr. 20 Heinze = 219 Isnardi Parente).¹¹⁶ Burkert suggests that, in some ways, the myth is connected to Mesopotamian traditions of the creation of

Texts for the Afterlife (London and New York, 2007); M. Herrero de Jáuregui, *Tradición órfica y cristianismo antiguo* (Madrid, 2007).

¹¹³ *OF* 304, discussed in detail by L. Brisson, *Orphée et l'Orphisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine* (Aldershot, 1995) VI.190-3; Graf and Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife*, 66-93.

¹¹⁴ For a fuller discussion than given here see now A. Bernabé, "La toile de Pénélope: a-t-il existé un mythe orphique sur Dionysos et les Titans?," *RHR* 219 (2002) 401-33.

¹¹⁵ I. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941) 350-3.

¹¹⁶ E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951) 155-6; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens* (Berlin and New York, 1974) 74-5; Graf and Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife*, 38 no. 27 (Pherae).

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man from a rebellious god in *Enuma elish* and *Atrahasis*.¹¹⁷ In the case of the latter epic, recent publications of new fragments have now shown that the slaughtered god was indeed the rebellious god, as was the case in the former.¹¹⁸ Such an Oriental derivation is not at all improbable in Orphic myth, since Zeus' swallowing of the phallus of the first cosmic king in the Derveni Papyrus (Col. XIII.4) also is clearly related to a similar act in the *Kumarbi Cycle*.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, there is no explicit mention of anthropogony in earlier Orphic texts, and we may have to reckon with developments of the myth in the course of time.¹²⁰

Given the marginal position of the motif of anthropogony in Greek culture and the growing confusion of the Titanomachy with the Gigantomachy since the fifth century,¹²¹

¹¹⁷ Burkert, *Orientalizing Revolution*, 126-7 and *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 96.

¹¹⁸ A.R. George and F.N.H. Al-Rawi, "Tablets from the Sippar Library. VI. Atrahasis," *Iraq* 48 (1996) 147-90; B. Böck and I. Márquez Rowe, "MM818: A New LB Fragment of the Atrahasis I," *Aula Orientalis* 17-18 (1999-2000) 167-77.

¹¹⁹ Thus, convincingly, Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 90-2 and *Kleine Schriften* III, 101-6; for the Hittite original see most recently the discussion by J.V. García Trabazo, *Textos religiosos hititas* (Madrid, 2002) 167.

¹²⁰ Cf. Brisson, *Orphée et l'Orphisme*, Ch. VII.496f.

¹²¹ Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* V.2, 168-9; W. Speyer, "Gigant," in *RAC* 10 (1978) 1247-75 at 1250. On the Giants see most recently L. Giuliani, "Die Giganten als Gegenbilder der attischen Bürger im 6. und 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr." and C. Maderna-Lauter, "Unordnung als Bedrohung. Der Kampf der Giganten gegen die Götter in der Bildkunst der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit," in T. Hölscher (ed.), *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike* (Munich and Leipzig, 2000) 263-86 and 435-66, respectively.

it is perhaps not surprising that in due time the Giants took the place of the Titans in the creation of humankind. And indeed, according to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Terra (Gaia?) created a *propago contemptrix superum saevaeque avidissima caedis* (1.160-1) after the blood of the Giants had flooded the earth. This generation was destroyed by the Flood, but its two survivors, Deucalion and Pyrrha, were straight descendants of the Giants. At this point Ovid probably draws upon a Hellenistic tradition since, in an oration offering different views about life, Dio mentions that a certain Charidemus considered that "all human beings are of the blood of the Titans" (30.10). Dio himself instead accepts the view of a 'peasant' that "the human race is from the gods, not from Titans or from Giants" (30.26). A scholiast on Oppian's *Halieutica* (5.1) confirms that Ovid was not alone in his ideas, since "some people say that we are from the blood of the Titans who fought with the heavenly gods", but he also mentions the Orphic view that we are from the 'bloody gore' of the Titans. In this area there clearly was a lot of room for variation, since the Orphic *Argonautica* (19-20) ascribed the birth of humans not to the blood but to the seeds of the Giants. This very limited number of testimonies demonstrates that the Orphic version of the Titans' influence on anthropogony did not greatly influence Greek culture. The old tradition of autochthony remained firmly entrenched, and it would last till the arrival of Christianity before a different view of man's coming into the world would gradually start to prevail.

4. *The Jews and the Titans*

When in the last centuries BC the Jews started to confront Greek culture and to fuse Biblical and Greek mythology, they also appropriated the myth of the Titans. Knowledge

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of the myth is already attested as early as Pseudo-Eupolemus (*ca.* 200 BC), who identified Babylonian Bel with Greek Kronos,¹²² but incidental references to the Titans occur in various Greek translations of originally Hebrew texts. In the *Septuagint*, the ‘Valley of the Rephaim’ (2 *Samuel* 23.13) alternates with the ‘Valley of the Titans’ (2 *Samuel* 5.18, 22), and the same alternation occurs in the textual tradition of Flavius Josephus’ rewriting of the passage (*AJ* 7.71). The Greek version of *Judith* (*ca.* first century AD) lets the heroine sing in the hymn of praise after her victory: “nor did the sons of the Titans strike him (Holophernes) down, nor did tall giants set upon him” (16.6); the Antiochene version of the Old Testament (dating to the first centuries of our era) mentions Titans in 2 *Samuel*, but gives ‘Valley of the Giants’ in 1 *Chronicles* (11.15 Hex),¹²³ and, finally, the Greek version of 1 *Enoch* 9.9 has: “the daughters of men brought forth from them sons, giants”, but the Gizeh fragment translates ‘giants’ with ‘Titans’, whereas Syncellus (*ca.* AD 800), who is perhaps closer to the Greek original, has ‘Giants’¹²⁴ – all are interesting illustrations of the already mentioned confusion between the Titanomachy with the Gigantomachy (§ 3).¹²⁵

¹²² Pseudo-Eupolemus *apud* Alexander Polyhistor *FGrH* 724 F 1. For the date see most recently E. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1998) 146-8.

¹²³ For these versions see N. Fernandez Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I: 1-2 Samuel* (Madrid, 1989) and *III: 1-2 Crónicas*, ed. N. Fernandez Marcos (Madrid, 1996).

¹²⁴ For the texts of Syncellus and the Gizeh fragment, which was found in Akhmim, see M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Leiden, 1970) 23-24 and *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Leiden, 1985) 132.

¹²⁵ The wavering between Giants and Titans can also be found in two manuscripts of Josephus, *AJ*

A much more detailed example of Jewish knowledge of the myth of the Titans can be found in the *Third Sibylline Oracle* (105-58). Here the Sibyl relates that after the collapse of the Tower of Babel, during the tenth generation of mankind after the Flood, three brothers (Kronos, Titan and Iapetos) together ruled the earth, each over a third part. After the death of their father Ouranos they started to fight with the result that Kronos became sole king. However, he had to promise Titan that he would not father any sons. As he broke his promise, the Titans (plural) swallowed his sons except for Zeus, Poseidon and Hades, whom their mother Rhea had sent to safe places. When this became known, a war arose between the sons of the Titans with the sons of Kronos, in which both parties perished. After the war God established the Egyptian kingdom, then the Persian Kingdom and, finally, the Roman Empire.

John Collins has persuasively argued that the oracle derives from Egyptian Judaism around 163-145 BC, although other recent discussions are more reticent and less sure about the exact moment of composition.¹²⁶ Yet this part can certainly still date from

7.4.1.

¹²⁶ J.J. Collins, "The Development of the Sibylline Tradition," *ANRW* II.20.1 (1987) 421-59 at 447, followed by H. Merkel, *Sibyllinen = Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit* V.8 (Gütersloh, 1998) 1962; Collins, *Jewish Cult and Hellenistic Culture* (Leiden, 2005) 82-98. Differently: Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 269-90 = (more or less) "Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the Third Sibylline Oracle," in Goodman, *Jews in a Greco-Roman World*, 15-36; J.-D. Gauger, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (Darmstadt, 1998) 440-51; R. Buitenwerf, *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and its Social Setting* (Leiden, 2003) 124-34.

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the middle of the second century, in any case well before Virgil and Horace made use of the *Oracles*, although the final redaction must postdate the Battle of Actium.¹²⁷

The passage itself is a fairly rationalised version, in which the Titans symbolise the old order that had to be destroyed before God could establish the present world. This is a good adaptation of the Greek tradition where Zeus founds the present order after the *hybris* of the Titans. The intriguing resemblance of Iapetos and Japheth (§ 2) may have helped to draw the attention of the Jews to this passage. Given its euhemeristic colour, it is not surprising to find that the version is a straight derivation from the famous *Sacred History* of Euhemerus (ca. 300 BC).¹²⁸ His work was very influential on the third-century Dionysius Scytobrachion's *Libyan Stories*, which also used the struggle between Zeus and the Titans.¹²⁹ These authors show that this theme had become attractive again in the third century BC: the wars between the successors of Alexander the Great must have lent Zeus' struggle an unsuspected actuality. Its attraction to Jews is proved not only by the *Third Sibylline Oracle*, but also by the fact that in their rewriting of the division of the earth in *Genesis* 10 the authors of *Jubilees* (ca. 150 BC: cc.8-9) and the *Genesis Apocryphon* (2nd century BC:¹³⁰ *IQapGen* ar XVI-XVII) display exactly the same scheme

¹²⁷ For Sibylline influence on these Roman poets see C.W. Macleod, *Collected Essays* (Oxford, 1983) 218-9; R.G. Nisbet, *Collected Papers on Latin Literature*, ed. S.J. Harrison (Oxford, 1995) 48-52, 64-5, 73-4, 163-4.

¹²⁸ Compare Euhemerus *FGrH* 63 F 14 (= fr. 54 Winiarczyk).

¹²⁹ J. Rusten, *Dionysius Scytobrachion* (Opladen, 1982) 109.

¹³⁰ For the date see now D. Machiela, *The Genesis Apocryphon (IQ20): A Reevaluation of Its Text. Interpretive Character, and Relationship to the Book of Jubilees* (Ph.D. Diss Notre Dame, Indiana, 2007), to be published by Brill, Leiden, in 2008.

as the *Third Sibylline Oracle*. Their common third-century (?) source will have been equally inspired by Euhemerus and contemporary events.¹³¹

Titans also occur in the first book of the *Sibylline Oracles* (307-23) where they are the seventh generation after the creation. As in the *Third Oracle*, they are described as mortals, but also as future rebels. Their eventual fate, unfortunately, has to remain unclear, since instead of a version of the battle against the Titans a Christian redactor interpolated a Christian prophecy at this point. Once again, it is impossible to put an exact date to this version, but in this case, too, a date somewhere in the second century BC is not impossible.

As the myth of the Titans was evidently known in Jewish circles, we can now turn to the few references to the theme of the Fallen Angels that seem to presuppose a more detailed knowledge of the myth.¹³² In *Jubilees*, the announcement of the Flood and the rescue of Noah is followed by the judgements against the angels, the giants, again the angels and, finally, by the new nature (5.4-12). As regards the angels, the Lord

¹³¹ See the detailed comparison in J. van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted. The Rewriting of Genesis 1-11 in the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden, 2001) 332-7, who notices the common source but does not mention the influence of Euhemerus.

¹³² M.L. West, "Towards Monotheism," in P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede (eds), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 1999) 21-40 at 27 persuasively suggests that these myths "convey the notion of a great shakeout, in which plurality and diversity of divine agents, with the potential for conflict between them, are reduced to a totalitarian unity".

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commanded that they be uprooted from all their dominion. And he told us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and behold, they are bound in the midst of them and they are isolated (5.6, tr. O.S. Wintermute).

We find exactly the same structure in Chapter 10 of *1 Enoch* (early 3rd century BC).¹³³ The cause of the close relationship at this point between *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* is debated, but the most persuasive solution to the problem is the assumption of a communal borrowing from another, now lost text, perhaps the lost *Book of Noah*.¹³⁴ In the Qumran version of *1 Enoch* 10.11-12, God says to Michael about the angels who had ‘fornicated’ with the ‘daughters of men’: “[chain them up for] seventy ge[n]erations in the valleys of] the earth until the great day [of their judgment]” (4Q202 IV.10-11).¹³⁵ The ultimate fate of

¹³³ A detailed comparison of the structure: Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 196f. Date: G. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1 : a commentary on the book of 1 Enoch, chapters 1-36, 81-108* (Minneapolis, 2001) 169f.

¹³⁴ Thus F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic* (Leiden, 1992) 1-44, doubted by E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and The Days of the End* (Leiden, 1996) 156f. Van Ruiten, *Primaeval History Interpreted*, 197 also assumes a communal origin, but C. Werman, “Qumran and the Book of Noah,” in E. Chazon and M. Stone (eds), *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden, 1999) 171-81 claims dependence of *Jubilees* on *1 Enoch*. See now also M. Stone, “The Book(s) Attributed to Noah,” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13 (2006) 4-23.

¹³⁵ I quote from the authoritative translation by F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2000²) I.407, since the Qumran version is our oldest testimony to the text. For the more complete Ethiopic version see the English translation and

the angels is also alluded to in the New Testament, where it is said of the fallen angels in *Jude* (6) that “he has kept (them) in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgement of the great day”, and, almost certainly depending on *Jude*, in *2 Peter* (2.4): “For if God did not spare the angels when they sinned, but cast them into hell (*tartarôsas*) and committed them to chains of deepest darkness to be kept until the judgement...” This verse is particularly important, since virtually all passages in which the verb (*kata*)*tartaroô* occurs refer to the struggle of Zeus against Kronos and the Titans.¹³⁶ The fact that the last two passages refer to *1 Enoch*¹³⁷ – *Jude* explicitly names Enoch and quotes from *1 Enoch* – shows that these New Testament authors derive from *1 Enoch* and, unlike *Jubilees*, do not go back to the postulated common source.

In the twentieth century, the binding of the fallen angels has regularly reminded scholars of the myth of the Titans.¹³⁸ And indeed, the Jewish translators of the *Septuagint*, erudite as they were,¹³⁹ could hardly have failed to note the vague parallels between the

commentary in Black, *The Book of Enoch*. For a discussion of the Ethiopic version and modern translations of *1 Enoch* see Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old*, 144-51.

¹³⁶ B. Pearson, “A Reminiscence of Classical Myth at II Peter 2.4,” *GRBS* 10 (1969) 71-80.

¹³⁷ See the standard commentaries *ad loc.*

¹³⁸ So already R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 1917) 24; T.F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* (London, 1961) 62-8; M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus* (Tübingen, 1969) 347-8; M. Delcor, *Etudes bibliques et orientales de religions comparées* (Leiden, 1979) 275, 290-1; B. Pearson, “Resurrection and the Judgment of the Titans,” in S.E. Porter *et al.* (eds), *Resurrection* (Sheffield, 1999) 33-81 (not that helpful).

¹³⁹ A. van der Kooij, “The City of Alexandria and the Ancient Versions of the Hebrew Bible,” *J. Northwest Semitic Lang.* 25 (1999) 137-49.

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Titans and the *gigantes* they introduced into *Genesis* 6.4. The interpretation even gains in probability, if we remember that several scholars have also noted parallels between Prometheus' instruction of primitive men in all kinds of arts in the *Prometheus Vincitus* (454-505) and the instruction of men in technical skills and magic by the Watchers in *1 Enoch* 6-7.¹⁴⁰ Now the combination of the myths of Prometheus and the struggle of the Titans against Zeus in the same passage may not be accidental. The figure of an inventive Prometheus in the pseudo-Aeschylean *Prometheus Vincitus* was probably modelled on Ea in *Atrahasis* through the mediation of the already mentioned *Titanomachy* (§ 1).¹⁴¹ Knowledge by the authors of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, or their source, of the Greek myth of the Titans via the *Titanomachy*, directly or indirectly, can therefore hardly be doubted.

It is time to come to a close. The myth of the Titans has appeared to be an extremely interesting example of the cultural contacts in the Mediterranean. From the Hurrians and the Hittites it migrated to the Greeks who, in turn, proved to be a source of inspiration to the Jews. As always, in this respect too God has moved in mysterious ways.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Glasson, *Greek Influence*, 65; Pearson, "A Reminiscence," 72-5; Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 347-8; G.W. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6-11," *J. Bibl. Stud.* 96 (1977) 383-405 at 399-404; R. Bartelmus, *Heroentum in Israel und seine Umwelt* (Zurich, 1979) 161-6. For the passage see F. Graf, "Mythical Production: Aspects of Myth and Technology in Antiquity," in R. Buxton (ed.), *From Myth to Reason?* (Oxford, 1998) 317-28 at 318-22.

¹⁴¹ S. West, "Prometheus Orientalized," 145-9. Dependence of the *Prometheus Vincitus* on the *Titanomachy* had also been noted by Eduard Fraenkel, cf. R. Roncalli (ed.), *Pindaro, Sofocle, Terenzio, Catullo, Petronio: corsi seminariali di Eduard Fraenkel* (Rome, 1994) 7.

APPENDIX: A NEWLY DISCOVERED TESTIMONY OF THE STRUGGLE
BETWEEN ZEUS AND KRONOS

In an eighteenth-century Ethiopian manuscript with a collection of exegetical and patristic texts, a second hand has recorded a notice about the struggle between Zeus and Kronos on some empty pages.¹⁴² As its publication will have escaped most classicists, it may be useful to append the French translation:

Quant au seigneur des dieux chez les païens c'était Zeus. Chex eux, Zeus était aussi le fils de Kronos. Kronos était leur dieu et il craignait qu'un de ses enfants le prive de son royaume. Et lui, alors, il régnait et mangeait chaque fils qui lui naissait. Quant à Zeus, à cause de la beauté de son aspect sa mère eut pitié de lui, et afin que sa voix fût cachée, l'abandonna parmi les chanteurs et les joueurs de tambours. Sa mère donna au père Kronos des pierres enveloppées dans de la nourriture, et quand il l'engloutit, les enfants d'elle plus âgés étaient déjà morts. Quand il fut grand, Zeus mutila son père et reçut son espoir et sa partie, du ciel jusqu'au Tartare, c'est-à-dire la Géhenne. Une gouttelette du sperme de Kronos tomba dans la mer et en naquit Aphrodite, qui est Zehora (the Ethiopian name of the planet Venus), c'est-à-dire enchantement, péché et

¹⁴² O. Raineri, "Zeus in Etiopia. Dal ms. Comb. Et. S 12 della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana," in D.V. Proverbio (ed.), *Scritti in memoria di Emilio Teza = Miscellanea Marciana* 12 (1997) 187-93. I quote the French translation from G. Lusini, "L'Église axoumite et ses traditions historiographiques (IV^e-VII^e siècle)," in B. Pouderon and Y.-M. Duval (eds), *L'historiographie de L'Église des premiers siècles* (Paris, 2001) 541-57 at 547.

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fornication. Zeus aussi monta au ciel et prit le royaume, et alors tous les dieux tombèrent. Il descendit trois fois: une fois il changea d'aspect et sous ces apparences se pervertit avec des femmes; puis il retourna, monta et on l'appela seigneur des dieux (there follow a few lines about Hermes).

The Ethiopic forms of Zeus, Kronos, Tartarus and Aphrodite show that this piece was translated straight from the Greek and not from the Arabic.¹⁴³ It will eventually derive from one of the late-antique handbooks of Greek mythology. This origin also explains why it presents only well known details.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Lusini, "L'Église axoumite," 548.

¹⁴⁴ For comments, information and improvements of my English I would like to thank Rolf Bremmer, Walter Burkert, Ken Dowden, Bob Fowler, Peter van Minnen, Mladen Popovic, Eibert Tigchelaar and Martin West.